

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

The Voice of the Common People — on BOTH Sides — on

THE FUTILITY OF THE WAR

Our Contributor THE PLAIN MAN

asks

A Broadcaster from BERLIN says

Must it be War Without End?

MANKIND is faced not only with a world war, but with the possibility of world war without end. Is that "alarmist"? I hope so: it is about time men were alarmed by what they are doing. But it is not alarmist in the sense of being a false exaggeration.

War is normally waged until the military machine of one side defeats that of the other. And in "military machine" we include today the capacity to supply the fighting forces with their machines, munitions, and equipment.

But in this world war both sides have enormous productive capacity and millions of people at their disposal. They can sustain great losses without suffering defeat.

The Human Angle

Regard this prospect from the human angle. It is impossible to foresee what will happen in the vast new areas now involved. But it is certain that the industrial workers of the world will be cajoled and conscripted into turning out more and more machines to bring the day of "victory" near.

Whichever side can get its people to behave more like robots and less like human beings will have the advantage. So our men and women must become machines. Like machines, they must receive a certain minimum of attention if they are to do the work required of them.

We have set up a new idol—Production. When we discuss minor "human" problems like hours of labour, transport difficulties, shortages of this or that, we consider their effect not on human beings but on those human beings' capacity for serving this idol.

But this is not all. Whatever great battles may be fought elsewhere, there still seems no prospect of a final reckoning in Europe. The original protagonists, Britain and Germany, are still reduced to sitting down on either side of the Channel and glaring at each other.

The only direct blows they can deal each other in Europe, it seems, are through blockade and bombing. And neither offers much prospect of being by itself, a war-winning weapon.

So for millions of people, in Britain and the Continent at any rate, for an indefinite period the war is to resolve itself into an aerial bombing match. While the armies of robots on both sides get on with their gigantic, monotonous task of turning out engines of destruction, and the factories spew forth their deadly creations, the sky-men will be at work too—doing their damndest to stop them. It will be a war between the sky-men and the robots.

Taking the sky-men and the robots together, you can easily realize the tragedy of our time: how we can only turn to destructive purposes the skill and youthful daring of the one, and the productive capacity which could so well serve the other had it been kept in its place and not become master.

Sky-Men v. Robots

Last winter we had a taste of this battle between the sky-men and the robots. Names like Coventry, Hull, the East End, came to stand not only for places, but for notable massacres of robots by the sky-men and the

ruins of thousands of homes; and by all accounts it's much the same in Aachen and Cologne and other continental cities (not all in Germany.)

If that was one year's work by the sky-men, what does the future hold for the robots?

Before the war spread to the Far East, we were told that the Anglo-American robots might overtake the production of the Axis robots in 1943. Even that forecast, with its prospect of a protracted struggle, is now irrelevant.

Today we can only say that for a period of years which no-one dares to estimate the resources of the world are to be harnessed to the sole task of turning out tanks and planes, guns and shells—faster and ever faster; that many areas will doubtless be laid waste in battle; that there will be bombing and counter-bombing—not to envisage any possible refinements, such as poison gas, which may introduce an element of variety into this grim experience.

This is not an appeal to fear. The people in our bombed cities have shown clearly enough that they can "take it." It seems that the Germans

can "take it" too, while the Russians and Japanese have also given evidence that their toughness comes up to the requisite modern standard.

We may be sure that while those on both sides are more or less convinced of the justice of their cause, and the impossibility of any other policy, they will continue to "take it."

But if this negative policy of mere destruction is not to go on to a final armageddon, it is essential that some time, somewhere, an appeal should be made to reason, as distinct from a dumb pride in toughness.

After all, many animals are brave; they too can "take it." But only man has such a high degree of self-consciousness and reasoning power that he can to some extent control the future of his own species. Yet an endless battle between the sky-men and the robots looks like a reversion to the unconscious brute force of the prehistoric monsters, which were so tough that they ended by disappearing from the earth.

Man's Best Performance?

Is it the best man can do? Does anyone expect this battle, even in the long run, to advance human welfare or happiness in the slightest degree? And, above all, have we forgotten the awful lesson of the years that followed 1918—when war-weary popula-

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COMMENTARY

Edited by "Observer"

Anti-Axis Window-Dressing

IT is difficult to be impressed by the anti-Axis agreement signed by 26 "nations." The Times calls it momentous, and it may be; but not by virtue of the 26 signatures. South America is represented by Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominica, Nicaragua, Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Panama. Where are Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, Uruguay? They represent the strength of South and Central America. And who signed for India as "a nation"?

As far as the bulk of the signatories are concerned, the document is an elaborate piece of window-dressing. As regards the major signatories, it changes nothing. Russia does not enter into war with Japan, nor China with Germany.

Colonial Rights

PROBABLY the other Roosevelt-Churchill deliberations have been momentous, if that is the word. But we cannot help wondering whether the question was discussed: What right has Britain to Malaya and Borneo or Holland to the riches of the East Indies? No doubt the good old right of possession established at the point of a gun. That right is now being challenged by the same means, brought up to date.

At that moment Time for Dec. 3 arrived on my desk: to remind me once more how staggeringly the US was mistaken in its estimate of Japanese strength.

Japan's great war-industry is creaking. Its shipbuilding industry is crippled for lack of steel. Every gallon of aviation oil burned by Japanese planes is irreplaceable. The bulk of the 5 million-ton Japanese merchant fleet is tied up. Economic strangulation is

on the way. And every day that passes means that China is stronger, that the Dutch, the British, the US possessions are more nearly impregnable.

One can hardly believe one's eyes as one reads it to-day.

Feeding the Mass-Man

GENERALLY, my reading of Sunday newspapers is limited to the Sunday Times and Reynolds; but last week I could get nothing but the People. Over 3 million circulation. Therefore a good indication of what the mass-man is fed on. Mixed feeding.

Front Page: Headline, Huns did This to Russian Children. "Germans killed children and drained their blood for blood-transfusions for their own wounded." Back Page: Headline, Japs' Malaya Landing Smashed. "Japan's first large-scale offensive for the control of W. Malaya has been routed." Page 6: Lyndoe, the astrologer: "Jan 16 is a crucial date and introduces a peculiar turn in the entire war-situation. Expect among other things, the opening of negotiations." Page 2: Mr. Hannen Swaffer. "There still remain to be faced grave problems of world strategy. Where is the man with a brain large enough to master them? I doubt if he exists..."

The man who on Sunday afternoon reads the People steadily through—and perhaps half of the three million do—must have his mind like a rag-bag at the end of it. And thus we educate the citizens of democracy.

News As You Like It

BITAIN can "take it," maybe, but when "it" happens to be the truth, evidently Britain cannot take it at all. What is the story with which the hungry sheep are being fed? The Germans are on the run in Russia, Rommel has been wiped out (for the second time) in Libya, there is a certain awkwardness in the

(Continued on page 2)

Where Will
"This Mess" Lead?

Strive for Peace and Good Will

The Daily Telegraph (Jan. 2) printed the following broadcast from Berlin by Capt. Wolfmüttler, of the Luftwaffe. It was printed as "revealing the German war-weariness." We print it (with our own cross-heads) because it reveals something more precious than that.

MANY a time I have stood on the roof of a Berlin building watching our flak (anti-aircraft fire) in the sky. I have watched and listened to the higher-pitched drone of the engines of British bombers roaring through the skies.

We have sometimes gone through what London had to go through a year ago. Sometimes, strange and frivolous as it may sound, I have wished that we in Berlin could show the other side we can take it, too.

Look at the Londoner. "The Cockney," said Churchill in his recent broadcast from Ottawa, "has shown that he can take it." They certainly have taken it, but so have we.

The other day I read an account of how our bombs struck Broadcasting House, London. The men had to turn the gramophone records with their fingers to continue the broadcast, for the lights had failed.

WHERE WILL IT LEAD?

We would do the same thing and more maybe. But where will all this lead? At the moment everything and the outlook is confused and hopelessly muddled.

One nation after the other is blundering into this mess. One country after another leaves the path of normal life. But at the end of this path there must be a better world.

As after the last world war, the cry "Never again" will be heard after this war; but this time it will not be forgotten so easily. Behind it will stand many a man, woman and child.

REMEMBER THE CALL

Behind it will stand the people who have looked total war in the face, people who know what it is all about. Those who know how near death can sometimes be, know what it means to live.

Let us, in the midst of the smoke of battle, not forget this call for which all of us must be striving. Peace on earth and good will toward men. May this wish for the New Year be granted to all of us.

Record for H.Q.

WE are pleased to report that contributions to Headquarters Fund touched the highest fortnightly level so far: over £90. That is a splendid effort. But it is urgent that it should be maintained.

As organization for war becomes more stringent, so the difficulties and costs of our Headquarters organization increase. The rise in stationery prices, for example, hits it hard. All the more necessary is a substantial working margin in cash resources which enables Headquarters to face emergencies with equanimity. Our goal is £1,000: we are now nearly one-third of the way to it. Let us press on!

Send your donations, made payable to the Peace Pledge Union, to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Received Dec. 23-Jan. 5, £92 0s. 6d.; total to date £305.

The Editor.

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Triptych of Victory

PERHAPS Mr. Churchill's speeches, in these crowded days, do not receive the same amount of attention as they used to receive. Nevertheless, it is as well to read them, if only for their obiter dicta. Thus, speaking in Canada, he said: "I should like to point out to you that we have not at any time asked for any mitigation of the fury or malice of the enemy." It is a queer remark. What does it mean? That he takes pride in the fact that we have not suggested a convention for the abolition of night bombing?

However, that is a minor matter. Of greater importance is that Mr. Churchill sticks (at any rate in Canada) to the opinion which he expressed on more than one occasion before the publication of the Atlantic Charter.

This is no time, according to my sense of proportion, to speak of the hopes of the future or the brighter world which lies beyond our struggles and our victory.

Since the Atlantic Charter until now, Mr. Churchill has piped down on this question. Now he makes it clear that he is still of his former opinion: that the discussion of peace-aims, or war-aims, is futile, and the one rational war-aim is Victory.

As against the propounders of programmes of idealistic war-aims, we have some sympathy with Mr. Churchill. For these programmes invariably assume complete victory for Britain and the USA. (They are not so plainly based on the assumption of complete victory for Russia as well: because that complicates the idealistic picture.) Mr. Churchill is on fairly solid ground in replying: "You assume complete victory. Then you had better first make sure that you win it."

But as against those, who, like ourselves, both question the possibility of such a victory, and count the cost of the effort to achieve it, this light-hearted concentration on victory—undefined and undefinable—seems a kind of madness. Let us examine the plan of victory which Mr. Churchill propounded in Canada. It consists of three periods or phases.

First comes the period of "consultation, combination, and final preparation." During this period, which will be one of heavy fighting, we are to acquire the air superiority and shipping tonnage to enable our armies to traverse the seas in whatever numbers may be necessary. The length of this period depends on "the vehemence of our production."

The second period is the phase of liberation, during which we recover the territories which have been lost, or "may yet be lost." For this we look forward to the revolt of the conquered peoples.

The third period is "an assault on the citadels and homelands of the guilty powers in Europe and in Asia."

"You will notice," said Mr. Churchill, "that I have not attempted to assign any time-limits to the various phases." We will be bolder and say that he has sketched the programme of ten years more war, at the least. What he imagines will be the condition of the world at the end of it, where he imagines he himself will be before the end of it, we forbear to conjecture. But his programme of complete victory is as idealistic as the programme of peace-aims which he deprecates.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

Glimpses of the Truth Behind the News

Pacific, but British-American naval supremacy will shortly and inevitably be restored. In short, all is set for final and complete victory.

Thus it takes some courage to write as Captain Liddell-Hart did in the Daily Mail (Dec. 31):—

On the Russian front the turn of events has not gone nearly far enough to justify the terms and tone in which it is being described... In reality the German withdrawal has been on the whole very gradual and small in extent... In Libya our achievements have not gone far enough to assure the prospects of fulfilling the object of the campaign. It is plain that our offensive will not have succeeded in the broader strategic sense unless, and until, we clear the enemy completely out of N. Africa.

The heading of the article which states these obvious facts is "Where is America's Pacific Fleet?" Aye, where is it?

Pacific Situation

REAR-ADMIRAL Yates Stirling—described as "former head of the US Navy"—expounds (Mail, Jan. 5) the strategy of "letting the Japs do their worst in the Pacific." Mr. Ward Price, protests violently against the implied abandonment of Singapore. But "naval authorities in New York have already allowed it to be understood that no major contact with the Japanese fleet can be expected for months, perhaps for a year, in view of Japanese advantages in well-established land-bases for aircraft operations" (Mail Jan. 1). This is rubbed in by the News-Chronicle (Jan. 4):—

Japan is not four islands, as it appears to be on so many maps, but actually includes 2,500 islands and islets scattered throughout the Pacific... Those islands the Japanese Admiralty describes as "anchored aircraft carriers." They have been called "stepping stones of the air-age." They are a problem which the combined fleets of the

ABCD Powers have to solve. They have been so strongly defended (fortified) by Japan that, says Admiral Suetsugu, any fleet attempting to brush past them would thrust its head into a trap.

Since the Japanese air force, like the Japanese navy, is "far bigger and far better than had been expected" (Express, Jan. 5)—what are secret services paid for?—it looks as though the Japanese will take some dislodging. Capt. Liddell-Hart puts it mildly when he says, "The Anglo-American position in the Western Pacific has been crumbling—so that the time for effective restoration is shortening."

Wavell's "Quads"

NEVERTHELESS we are assured that the day will come when, as The Times has it, "Japan will lose the whole of her ill-gotten gains." This assumption seems strange to me. It assumes that Japan will hold her gains as slacks as the British and the Americans held them. Surely we must expect that they will be defended with skill and tenacity; and these new possessions of hers are vital to the prosecution of the naval war against her.

Mr. Churchill speaks confidently of the first (of three) phases of the war, at the end of which British-American sea-power will be universally overwhelming and British-American troops (in millions) will be able to be moved freely anywhere. To establish such conditions in the Western Pacific against Japan would take years and years, as far as I can see, if it is possible to establish them at all. Here again the assumption is that the British-American-Russian war-production goes on constantly accelerating while that of Germany and Japan stays where it is. The single fact that 85% of the world's rubber production has already passed largely into Japanese hands makes nonsense of the assumption.

I like best, however, Gen. Wavell's wry comment on his promotion to supreme command in the East: "I have been handed several babies to look after in my time, but this looks rather like quadruplets" (Express, Jan. 5).

Asia's Morale

FROM a somewhat cryptic article in the News Chronicle (Jan. 5) I gather that

HERE STAND I

by
Alan Shadwick

imaging it to be a kind of insurance policy against war should have gone long ago. If we think of the peace movement qualitatively and not quantitatively this loss will be easier to bear.

So, depleted but not despairing, the peace movement stands like a little island in a rough sea. Small comfort, cry its critics within, for it is itself shaken by squalls and storms. See how the wordy battle continues, political activism versus community living; a policy for the PPU versus no policy; "negotiate with Hitler" versus no negotiation. When will the winds of controversy subside?

Now if such criticism of the movement amounts to a plea for less talking and more action, or at any rate a demand for the word of peace to be reinforced by the deed of peace, it is useful and valid. But in making the criticism let us not fall into the error of stressing the issues which divide us at the expense of those which unite us. To do so would be to repeat Christendom's most tragic blunder.

It is with this in mind that I call for a kind of two-minutes' silence within the movement so that our underlying unity might be recognized and felt. And then, when the tumult and the shouting die, this tremendous fact emerges: the Peace Pledge Union is a body of people, infinite in variety but alike in this utterly important particular—the determination to remain civilized and humane in a world gone mad.

Call this company what you will—the conscience of the nation, the leaven in the lump—the fact remains that it makes its greatest contribution to the building of Jerusalem merely by continuing to exist. Its members are so many non-conductors of evil in a world of men bent on starving and blasting themselves to death. So long as one single man remains to refuse to pass on this evil the light of civilization still burns. It is work that does not stop when the last pacifist is in the concentration camp.

This is the ground on which Christian and non-Christian meet in our movement. They find unity in the common task of safe-guarding something infinitely precious, the idea of civilization. It is the ground on which I would still stand were I persuaded that the religious conception of the resurrection and life to come was a hollow fable.

I would deem it an honour to be among those who knew a more excellent way and passed into final extinction rather than behave like the barbarians merely because the barbarians were at the gate.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY
(Continued from page one)

all is not well in Singapore. There has been "scathing press criticism of the Malayan civil administration for its inability to mobilize Asiatic morale to the full, and to arrange the most orderly withdrawal from the towns skittled by the Japanese."

To hearten Malaya's 2 million Chinese the local Kuomintang leader, who was banished from Malaya last year, has been recalled; the Government has exhorted the up-country people to stay put, and assured Asiatics that in the event of further evacuations, and in the case of war-relief, they would be treated equally with the whites.

It would be asking a lot to ask them to believe the last assurance.

An odd sidelight on the relative value of Western and Eastern civilization in Singapore is contained in a letter from Dr. Leonard Hill to The Times (Jan. 5) advocating the national loaf. "In Singapore 87 per cent. of Indians and 69 per cent. of Chinese were found to have perfect teeth, against 2.75 per cent. of the ratings in one of H.M. ships."

Perpetual Guard

THE more unlikely complete and final victory becomes, the more inevitable it is asserted to be. The reaction is necessary, because it is increasingly obvious that anything that could be called victory at all would have to be quite overwhelming. Since, by hypothesis, nothing but victory is conceivable, it follows that nothing is conceivable (in the present British mood) but the kind of victory dreamed by The Times (Jan. 1).

We have formed a world-alliance to restore civilized life to its course. But we have formed it late; and the lesson we have learned during these years in which the gates of Hell have nearly prevailed is that there is no security against the repetition of such universal tragedy unless a world-alliance mounts guard all the time... It is evident that irresistible strength can rest on no other foundation than the permanent association of the British Empire, the Soviet Union and the United States in triple partnership.

That is fantasy. The idea that Germany and Japan can be thus permanently kept under flies in the face alike of history and the realities of the present situation. Even if such a position could be established, it could be maintained only by the deliberate abolition of the last vestiges of British liberty. If we are crazy enough to pursue the mirage of tripartite world-domination, we shall have deserved what we shall get. This is not policy but pathology.

"National Service"

THE explanatory memorandum to the new National Service Act contains the following:

Boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 18 will be required to register and will be interviewed by the Youth Service Committee of the Education Authority with a view to their being encouraged to join appropriate organizations. The minimum age of entry into the Home Guard will be reduced to 16 for certain duties.

In the light of that it may be difficult to believe that the establishment of the Youth Service Committees (in November 1939) was entirely disinterested. At least it took a war to make the "education" of the 16-18's a matter of national concern. The coincidence is probably less sinister than it seems; it is corollary to the general notion that "national service" has meaning only in time of war.

In fact, we are hardly less nationalist than the Nazis, only we prefer to keep it in the subconscious. However, one significant difference between ourselves and the totalitarians emerges. The boys and girls still at school between 16 and 18 will apparently not be interfered with. In other words, as Mr. Lyn Harris puts it in The Friend (Jan. 2), "the privileged classes will again come off comparatively comfortably."

In protesting against this impending perversion of adolescent education, pacifists must beware of bigotry. It is excessive to demand that there shall be no element of military training in any system of national education for the 16-18's. What they must demand is that any military training be made entirely subsidiary to a positive education into fitness for permanent, instead of temporary, service to the community.

Sir Stafford Cripps

IT is reported that Sir Stafford Cripps is shortly coming to London and that he may not return. "It is well known (says the News Chronicle, Jan. 5) that he is anxious to re-enter political life in this country." It is less well-known that his sojourn in Russia has cured him of any tendency to believe, or hope, that in Russian Communism lies the hope of the world. If there is any hope anywhere, Sir Stafford believes that it is in Britain. That conviction is the best equipment for a politician of his independence and his gifts.

But if the suggestion of the News Chronicle that he may enter the Cabinet were to prove true, those gifts would assuredly be wasted. They are needed to give a point of focus to a constructive Opposition, based on a programme of radical social change and the utmost defence of British domestic liberty. Sir Stafford seems to me the only possible candidate among present-day politicians for the post.

Community

THE literature of the community movement among pacifists has been notably enriched by Charles Stimson's pamphlet, "The City set on a Hill: Christian Pacifism and Community," (Brotherhood of the Way, Wyndon Priory, Hitchin, 3d.). It is a first-class piece of work. It is as profound as it is clearly written; indeed, that is an inadequate description of its style, which is that of a man writing from authentic experience both of Christianity and community. I unreservedly commend it to all members of pacifist communities in the first instance, and in the second to the increasing number of those non-Christian pacifists who are (shall I say?) groping toward community as the positive issue from their frustration.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:
I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:
PPU HEADQUARTERS,

Dick Sheppard House,
 6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

The Onus of Responsibility

By JOHN BARCLAY

EVERY week we are losing the services of some of our most active members as they are sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. Whilst they are away it falls on those of us who are still free to carry on their work with even greater vigour.

The fantastic practice of shutting people behind bars because they will not conform to popular ideas of citizenship is once more strengthening the faith that Authority tries to suppress. It is in anticipation of the greater activity that will follow this period of temporary bondage that we are trying to prepare the way for new advances.

The strain on older members is becoming greater. As Groups lose their youngest and most vigorous leaders, the responsibility falls on the men and women of 40-50, often those who have already suffered severely for their principles in the last war.

It is at this point that Area and Regional Organization is helping to relieve the strain. The calls for help are increasing and are being answered by the drawing together of neighbouring Groups. This re-grouping is in the line of natural development, and only awaits initiative to give it a new impetus. After all has been said and done about organization, the final and most important move must come from the Group itself. As Walter Griffith wrote:—

A group must always regard itself as a nucleus of the visionary future, as a starting point of a new world order of free and responsible men, as a developing organism of the brave new world, or perhaps as a family making a pioneer trek into a sketchily delineated land of promise. Without some such vision a Group can only become a dull, obstinate and joyless thing, aggressive and at war with society, and finally of no efficiency whatsoever in the cause of progress. Informed by such a vision, on the other hand, the positive will replace the initial negative and the Group will become an attractive unity with the energy and gaiety for constructive living.

The onus of all progress must rest with the individual, and until he is prepared to make the equivalent of sacrifices now being made by the private soldier in the war-machine peace will remain a dream.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

Llanely (South Wales).—A very successful public meeting was held at Llanely on Saturday evening, December 20, when a packed hall listened to Stuart Morris giving an able address on the topic "Victory, but of what kind?" He proved how futile it was to expect a victory by the method of bombing or blockade. This war was fought to perpetuate the present system of capitalism and imperialism. Negotiation was the only way to a lasting peace. Many questions were asked, particularly by Communist members of the audience, and satisfactorily answered. The local group meets regularly as a study group, taking as its topic the pamphlet "World Recovery" (Farrar and Marwick).

J. B.

When Horsforth won the "Yorkshire Warship Week Championship Flag" by lending £241.044 7s. 10d. at 2½%, the Vicar of Horsforth (Rev. H. A. Wareham) wrote: "Warship Week proved in every way an unqualified success. We were glad to have our share in the effort. It was an inspiration to have a thousand praying people in Horsforth Church. The prayers have been wonderfully answered. Would it not be right for all to return to give thanks? Thanksgiving will be offered up next Sunday."

FOOD RELIEF FOR EUROPE

A Public Meeting

Stuart Morris
 Roy Walker
 Miss Vera Brittain
 Charles Dimont
 and others

at Aeolian Hall,
 New Bond St., W.1.

Sat. Jan. 24, at 3 p.m.

Admission
 free

London Area
 of the P.P.U.

EDUCATION or MILITARIZATION?

THE new National Service Act compels the registration of young people from 16 to 18 years. These are not to be compulsorily drafted into war work but are to be "directed."

The business of directing them into such jobs as the ATC, Home Guard, and so on is given to the Service of Youth Committees set up under the Board of Education (circular 1486, Nov. 27, 1939).

This circular was entitled "The Service of Youth." It said "The Government are determined to prevent the recurrence during this war of the social problem which arose during the last..." The National Youth Committee set up by the Board of Education

has already taken practical steps to deal with the immediate difficulties arising out of the present abnormal conditions. They have facilitated the re-opening of clubs and pressed for the release of premises requisitioned for war purposes, and they have recommended the provision of financial assistance, through voluntary organizations, to help clubs and centres to hire premises, where necessary, to provide equipment and to secure competent leaders and instructors

The Board therefore urge that all local education authorities for Higher Education should now take steps to see that properly constituted Youth Committees exist in their areas... Young people themselves must be encouraged to find through the Local Youth Committee new constructive outlets for their leisure hours and for voluntary national service...

The service of youth, too long a neglected part of the educational field, today assumes a new significance in the national life and the Board are confident that local education authorities will do all in their power to meet this challenge.

This was followed by a statement prepared by the British Continuation Committee of the Amsterdam World Conference of Christian Youth (and commended by the Archbishop of York), which said

We welcome the move which the Government is making in the interests of young people and are cordially in sympathy with its purpose as described in the Board of Education Circular 1486... We believe that the needs of youth can only be met as they are seen to be spiritual as well as social and physical. Young people need to know how to value life in terms of some abiding

good and not in terms of expediency...

If this work is to be done on a national scale there are obvious dangers to be faced. In times like these a nationalist spirit might capture the movement; always there must be the danger of a merely secular aim... We wish, therefore to commend the accompanying Circular (1486) on the grounds of Christian opportunity.

On June 27, 1940, the Board of Education issued another circular (1516) amplifying their policy.

The overriding purpose of all this training is the building of character: this implies developing the whole personality of individual boys and girls to enable them to take their place as full members of a free community... Any attempt at a State-controlled uniformity or regimentation would be both stupid and perilous; more than that, it would be wholly alien to the spirit of this country... Variety of approach with a common purpose is no new principle in our educational system; but it has even more significance in youth work than in the schools because of the strong traditions and individuality possessed by the national voluntary organizations...

The general aim of a scheme of physical recreation should be to provide opportunities for the practice of wholesome physical activities conducted in such a way as to create a satisfied body and a joyful spirit. Competition has its place as an incentive to discipline, but it needs to be carefully controlled... A wisely directed and comprehensive scheme of physical recreation would result in a desire for bodily fitness, a greater capacity for comradeship and a higher appreciation of true chivalry and good sportsmanship...

There is a wider range of opportunity... There is an increasing interest... in music, dramatics, discussion, and debating societies... Local Youth Committees would do well to encourage and develop musical festivals, dramatic competitions and art and craft exhibitions because it is in such activities that the beginnings can be made of the practice of citizenship... We cannot afford to neglect the youth for whose free future the struggle is being waged.

A further circular on Youth Service Corps (1543: March 12, 1941) had a definitely reactionary tendency which alarmed a good many Youth Committees. "Emphasis should be

Letters to the Editor

PEACE-LOVING ISLAM RETRIBUTION

NOW that more than 20 countries are at war, and the Sunday Times of December 14 thinks fit to make a list of belligerents, remarking that "the question of who is fighting whom is much confused," it is interesting to observe that the Christian world is more deeply involved than the heathen, and that the Mohammedan world (condemned by the Christian for its warlike past) is, up to the present, entirely neutral, although invaded by both belligerents and continually being pressed by them to surrender its neutrality. India, also neutral, contains about 70 million Mohammedans.

If this war, then, is a war against evil, Islam seems singularly blind; or is she, rather, just incredulous?

W. PORTEOUS CHALMERS

6, Forest Road, Aberdeen.

To Pacifists on the Land

Recently a number of factory workers offered to give their Boxing Day pay to a war-time fund for sailors. In spite of the fact that we do not recognize the need for the sufferings of sailors in these particular circumstances, nor possibly approve of private charity in any case, such a spirit of generosity is only to be admired. It can also be emulated—with regard to our own movement which aims ultimately at putting an end to all avoidable human suffering.

Those of us on the land are enjoying the privilege of comparative safety and a measure of comfort denied to less fortunate, though equally sincere, members of our fellowship who are suffering imprisonment or victimization. A moral obligation is placed on us to do all we can not only to help alleviate such suffering, but to maintain the work of the movement.

This we can do by subscribing generously to the various funds which need our help—the COs' Distress Fund, Peace News Fighting Fund, Headquarters Fund, not to mention the Central Board for COs. We are now receiving our new wage increase, and bearing in mind that, unlike the factory workers, we did not have to work for our Boxing Day pay, if there is anyone who does feel this moral obligation, he may like to join me in sending it to the appropriate quarter.

FRANK E. BARACLOUGH

Althorne, nr. Chelmsford

AT last we hear official calls for retribution, sounded by the Premier and the Primate. The Archbishop draws our attention to the meaning of "just retribution" as distinct from a retribution dictated by sheer vindictiveness, though, of course, whether it is really thought that one will be distinguishable from the other after the chaos of the war is not clear.

The real question, however, is will "just retribution" be possible after this blot on the name of civilization has made that name almost indistinguishable? I think not. Any retribution, apart from the restoration of freedom to enslaved peoples, which may be reaped from any party after this war will, surely, in God's sight be unjust, for in any case it is not man's place to gain such retribution from his neighbour, but God's.

But the sword exacts its own retribution from those who help to spread misery and suffering amongst humanity by wielding it. Its retributive power has already been felt to the full by Soviet Russia, who two years ago stabbed Poland in the back, and almost simultaneously struck at Finland and other small neighbours.

The same power is being felt by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy today, in consequence of their armed outrages. It is being experienced too, by Britain and her Allies. All who sow the wind, at some time or other reap the whirlwind. That is the picture of man left to his own devices and reaping his own terrible retribution, through the sword.

Yet, typical of the injustice embodied in war, even that retribution is to a great degree unjust, for the innocent many have to suffer for the greedy and short-sighted few.

When all is said and done, therefore, where is man to find a really "just retribution"? Nowhere. It is not his concern anyway. His task is to erase the blot on the name of civilization. "Just retribution" is left to God.

S. R. GIDDINGS

Leigh-on-Sea.

The Social Conscience

My article on "The Social Conscience" published in your last issue was written a good many years ago; and in sending it to you I forgot to correct a couple of dates. It was in the days of Charles Lamb that the boy was sentenced to death for stealing sixpence, and the sentence of burning goes back to the middle of the 18th century.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

Longmeadow, Street.

1941

leaves a legacy of HATE

We must summon now every reserve of cynicism, mistrust and suspicion, and we must make our plans accordingly. — Leading article, Sunday Dispatch, Dec. 21, 1941.

Observers were astonished at the stream of hatred turned on the Axis by the average American citizen... To-day everyone is demanding a "Tripartite Cock-tail" made of German, Japanese and Italian blood.—Article on "End of Isolation," in News Review, Dec. 18, 1941.

laid," it said, "on actual present service to the community and the nation and not merely on training for some future eventuality." The activities it suggested were almost entirely subsidiary to the war effort—digging trenches, filling sandbags, selling poppies, collecting for charities, minding children, collecting salvage, and the like.

Against this the Youth Committee of the Commission of the Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility issued another pamphlet stating that a deputation from them to the President of the Board of Education expressed the desire to cooperate with the Board of Education plans with the proviso that any scheme for youth welfare must include the development equally of body, mind, and spirit in character-building for a life of service in the community. They wanted to see physical training as one element of a complete cultural scheme informed throughout by a religious attitude and spirit.

The President of the Board of Education expressed his entire agreement that the youth service should be concerned with the training of mind and character as well as body, and said that the fact that he was taking advantage of an immediate opportunity that had presented itself of helping on the side of physical recreation did not imply any modification of this point of view. "There is no question of ignoring the wider interests of youth or of creating a new movement based exclusively on physical training."

It may be that more than one construction can be put on the Board of Education circulars. If it was intentional thus to mislead people and attempt to win the good will of both the reactionaries and the progressives, it was sheer dishonesty. If on the other hand the policy of the Board of Education was reactionary in intention while being progressive in appearance, the matter should be straightened up honestly and at once so that the public knows exactly how far the Government intends to regiment youth.

The Service of Youth scheme was initiated by the Board of Education. Emphasis was again and again laid upon the education of the adolescent. Clearly, serving in the Home Guard and the ATC (if these can be by any stretch of imagination be termed educational) is "blind alley" education, leading nowhere in a sane world. The Board of Education ought not to be conscripted into the service of the War Office.

Many of those serving on the Youth Committees in the country are doing so because they believed that they might by this service help to eliminate the havoc of war by training a progressive and free generation to come. They accepted the assurance that no regimentation of youth was intended. There services are now to be turned to the task of shepherding youth (if "regimentation" is too strong a term) into war activities. Nothing could be more calculated to destroy in young people individuality and free initiative.

The young people, on their side, trusted the assurance that the service given by the Youth Committees was wholly disinterested and devoid of ulterior motive. When they discover that these committees are tribunals in disguise they will feel that they have been deceived and, since "once bitten is twice shy," future work on a national scale will be prejudiced.

A conscience clause is valueless. It is patent to those who have attended tribunals that even 19-year-olds are not mature enough to know their own minds. Children of 16 know simply nothing of the issues involved, and if they did could not possibly be expected to form a valuable judgement on them. They are quite helpless in the hands of the State and all those who care for the best in education should oppose this measure with all their might.

H. O. EVANS

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MUST IT BE WAR WITHOUT END?

(Continued from p. 1)

tions discovered that even the sacrifice of a generation could be rendered futile by the inevitable aftermath of "victory?"

I think that some reluctant robots, who retain a certain capacity for clear thought, would reply to these questions: "No, but we've got to beat Hitler and all he stands for..."

Granted. Hitler stands for, and is a product of, the immensely destructive powers of the robot-civilization which all the Western Powers have helped to build—and which Japan is so faithfully copying.

To defeat that, it is no use to surrender ourselves more completely than ever to the process which has landed us in our present mess. It can only be done, ultimately, by making the robots realize that they are still really men and women. If they ever become fully conscious of that we shall have tamed the machine which has become our master.

Can we make a start on that job here, in Britain? It sounds a tall order. The political consequences cannot be foreseen. Yet that is not now a valid objection, for neither can any man foresee the consequences of endless war.

But it is just possible that, if we can get to the point where the robots in Britain realize that a complete military victory (even if attainable) involves a complete surrender of their humanity, we shall be able to appeal to the robots on the other side. A common experience of modern war might make that possible, despite the passions aroused.

If there is any hope for the world at all, it is in this direction that we shall find it. It is no use looking to the present leaders of the nations. They have started something which apparently they cannot now control—though even that doesn't seem to alarm them unduly.

Task Of Enlightenment

Therefore it is the common people who must come to understand that the attempt to remove evil by a war of robots and sky-men is to cut off our noses to spite our faces. (Or, to put it another way, to be so determined that Hitler shall never make us slaves that we'll turn ourselves into slaves first—to forestall him.) So let us start on the task of enlightenment. If carried far enough, it may result in the nations finding new leaders.

I do not pretend that this, of itself, would remove the great evils in the world. But it will help to stop those evils infecting everyone; it would put a brake on this war of machines, this turning of men into robots, and the wrecking activities of the sky-men.

In brief, it might be the beginning of something worth-while. Just now we seem to be reaching the beginning of the end. However slim the prospects of success, it seems to me that we must choose between trying to turn our robots back into men and the unpredictable consequences of leaving at large the Frankenstein we have helped to create.

DEBATE

Which Party should the Working Class Support?

I.L.P.

F. A. RIDLEY

Socialist Party G.B.

C. GROVES

Chairman: John McNair

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
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HATRED and BOGUS HISTORY

By JOHN STUDHOLME, Chairman Northampton Regional Committee of the P.P.U.

LORD PONSONBY has aptly remarked that truth is the first casualty of war. This was true of the last war; it is equally true of the present conflict.

The big sales achieved by Sir Robert (now Lord) Vansittart's ignoble pamphlet "Black Record" is proof of this. The pamphlet by the former head of the Foreign Office is one long hymn of hate against all—or almost all—Germans. In his crudity and utter disregard of undisputed facts of history and ethnology, the noble lord shows exactly the same mentality as that displayed so often by Nazi propagandists.

The central thesis of his tirade is the "German will to wars" (so different from ourselves and from other European peoples!). According to him Germany has "made five major wars in the last 75 years." It is worth while to examine this point for a moment.

THE FACTS

In 1916 a little book entitled "A Century of War, 1815—1914" was published by a British officer, Capt. G. de St. C. Stevenson. It gives a short account of every war which took place in these 99 years; they total 93—almost one a year! Of these 93 wars, Britain took part in 38, France in 17, Russia in 13, Italy in 9, Austria in 7, Germany in 6, the USA in 5, and Japan in 3.

This book also shows that Britain was at war in 64 of these 99 years, France in 58, Russia in 28, Italy in 14, USA in 11, Germany in 10, Austria in 8, and Japan in 6. It is true that these figures include many small colonial wars waged by Britain and France, in most of which these two imperialist Powers were unquestionably the aggressors.

It is obvious that these facts give a very different picture from that painted by Lord Vansittart.

Many pages of Black Record are solemnly devoted to the puerile and ridiculous prejudices gathered by Lord Vansittart as a schoolboy in Germany forty years ago. It seems that his almost life-long hatred for Germans originated in a somewhat bizarre incident in which the (obviously unbalanced) daughter of his headmaster pursued him, even into his bedroom, cursing England and foretelling its destruction.

It is clear that the whole purpose of Black Record is to arouse and increase hatred of Germany and of Germans "in the plural"; one is not, therefore, at all surprised that this fantastic pamphlet strongly advocates that Germany should be kept in subjection for at least a generation. It has been a real godsend to Dr. Goebbels.

Letters of a Prisoner for Conscience' Sake

By CORDER CATCHPOOL

A selection from the letters written by Corder Catchpool while serving his sentence of two and a quarter years' hard labour during the Great War. His thoughts and state of mind are mirrored in this book, which will be of the greatest interest to those who now tread the same hard road. Foreword by THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM; Introduction by G. B. PITTOCK-BUSS

Paper 2s. net.

ALLEN & UNWIN

The pamphlet's success (at least financially!) has been followed recently by the appearance of two books of a more pretentious and pseudo-historical character—The Roots of National Socialism by D. D'O. Butler, and Thus Spake Germany—in which the influence of the Blimps and freaks of German jingoism is grossly exaggerated.

Long extracts from the writings of Nietzsche, Treitschke, Bernhardt, Ludendorff, &c., are given, but liberal and humanitarian thinkers such as Kant, Lessing, Goethe, Heine, the Grimms, &c., receive only passing reference or are wholly ignored. In this manner does the cult of hate falsify and distort the facts of history.

The moral is simple. War can only exist on hatred, and hatred can only thrive on lies. And, unfortunately, in all wars hatred-mongers can always be found ready to manufacture bogus history. It is our task as pacifists to unmask these falsities and to strive to make truth prevail.

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REQUIRED, couple with own furniture (no children) to share house with business lady and daughter. Write 49 Dawlish Drive, Pinner, Middlesex.

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AT SHERWOOD SCHOOL, Epsom, boarders share family life with children of graduate staff.

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FOR SALE & WANTED

CARRIER Cycles for tradesmen, carriage paid all complete, thus ready to use, £8 17s. —Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

MRS. MCINTOSH would be grateful to receive used Christmas cards and calendars for children's orphanage. Please send to 5 Second Av., Blackpool S.S., Lancs.

PACIFISTS need typewriter for peace correspondence and propaganda. £5 maximum. Any offers? Haskins, 123 Kingston Rd., Leatherhead.

LAND & COMMUNITY

FARM SCHOOL for evacuees; house now modernized. Six vacancies for children aged 4-6; no fees; billeting allowance only. Two or three permanent helpers needed now; keep and pocket money. Richard Phibbs B.A., Beer Farm, Dulverton, Somerset.

SMALL group C.O.s, hoping to form community, desire land suitable for market garden. Box 1052 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, to rent or purchase. Ten, fifteen, or twenty acres of good arable land, with Bungalow or small house attached. If necessary, a partnership would be considered. Any fair distance from London. Somerset or Devon preferred. A few miles from a Town. Suitable for market gardening. Send full particulars to Box 1042 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1

MEETINGS, &c.

ANARCHISM. Fredrick Lohr continues the lectures on Anarchist Philosophy. Sun. Jan. 11—Values; Sun. Jan. 25—Ethics. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn; 2.30 p.m.

CROYDON. Women are specially invited to the combined C.O. Fellowship meetings, which are held every Friday at 8 p.m. at the Adult School, Friends House, Park Lane, for discussion and advice.

JOHN HADHAM will speak on "Problems Facing Pacifists" in the Oak Room of the Kingsway Hall this Saturday, Jan. 10 at 8 p.m.

News of C.O.s

WAR WORK FOR A.R.P.?

FORMS of war work have, for some time past, been given to ARP workers in some localities to be done in their hours of duty. Though voluntary so far, it has recently been suggested that the practice should be extended and possibly made compulsory.

For the many conscientious objectors who have undertaken ARP work solely for the purpose of rendering civilian air-raid relief any such scheme will be unacceptable. But those COs are widely scattered through the various Civil Defence services and localities, so that individuals may find it difficult to resist such demands.

A group of COs in the Central London district has therefore thought that some form of co-ordination between COs in the Civil Defence services would be of value in considering these and any other problems which may arise. Any interested members of these services should get in touch with David Robinson, 24 Wharton St., London, W.C.1.

SITUATIONS VACANT

GARDENER wanted, Somerset, with or without wife to assist with flowers; commercial. Box 1035 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

INTELLIGENT young lady wanted immediately for small progressive home-school (ages 7-10). Share responsibility teaching, household duties with young couple. Young, Hollyside, Brockweir, Cheshire.

LORRY Drivers wanted, foodstuffs; permanency; must be strong and free to act; West Country. Box 1036 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MATRON, with nursing experience, required for school community preparing children for post-war conditions. Mother with child over seven considered. Wennington Hall, via Lancaster.

RESIDENT Woman Teacher (mother with child may apply) to teach English to French and Belgian children aged 5-14 at country hostel, Gloucestershire. Nurses required also. International Commission, 10 Woburn Square, W.C.1.

VACANCY for married couple safe area, Westmorland. Unfurnished accommodation and wage as Cook Housekeeper and Gardener Handyman. For particulars, Box 1051 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, experienced gardener interested in children and community. Community School, Alderwood House, Greenham Common, Newbury, Berks.

WANTED Housekeeper (must be vegetarian); child welcome. Sewell Ashcroft; Sidmouth.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

B.A., Manchester, Exhibitioner of Balliol, Oxford, seeks teaching post any part of country; or would take coaching; Latin, Greek, English, History, French; unconditionally registered C.O. Box 1050 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

BAKER C.O. requires change; fully experienced; awaiting tribunal. Box 1049 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

BRITISH refugee, 42, formerly matron children's home, France, French, German diplomas, now clerk, wants p.w. responsibilities, London. Box 1048 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 33, London taxi driver (conditional exemption) seeks motor driving job (food products); clean licence. Box 1047 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

ELECTRO MEDICAL, design, construction, or repair work wanted by pacifist with own workshop. Interested to hear of others doing similar work. G. W. Morris, 132 Grove Rd., Birmingham, 14.

ENERGETIC, capable, pacifist (lady) desires constructive land work; little domestic work and children not objected to. Box 1046 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MARKET GARDENER, 1 year's experience seeks post S. or S.W. where good cottage available. Wife kindergarten teacher. Box 1045 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST, 30, advised by doctor leave agriculture (after 1 year) seeks constructive office or non-manual outdoor work "in the national interest" (Ministry of Labour condition). 11 years' advertising, publishing. Has organizing ability and imagination. Now resident E. Berks. Box 1044 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG lady, 21, desires forestry work or similar, after Jan. 12. Write Miss Burton, 47 Seaford Gdns., Stoneleigh, Surrey.

YOUNG married C.O. couple seek constructive work; community or preparation post-war reconstruction; engineering, farming, house-keeping, secretarial, dressmaking experience. Reply to Box 1043 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WHERE TO STAY

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